1: Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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137 cleared for native gardens, some is still virgin, being distinguished by the presence of giant trees with spreading flanges or buttresses. The forest presents an infinite variety, with this important characteristic, that the variety is for ever repeating itself, so that a man who requires any particular product usually has not far to seek.

137 With few exceptions the trees are soft-woods, and these
313 supply easy material for canoes and much of the house-building. One or two varieties of hard-woods are used for
[411] spears, but these weapons as well as the wooden 'sword' are usually made from the tough and springy *Koropa* palm. Other palms provide the slats used in flooring; and the
137 pandanus, most useful of all, is valued for its fibre which is
314 twisted into rope, and for its broad leaves which are sewn together to form the sleeping mat. One variety is prized
[262] for its fruit, a long red seed-cluster, which is boiled down to a porridge.

137 One of the greatest natural assets of the Orokaiva is his
313 sago. In the interior the palm is comparatively rare and each tree is carefully husbanded, but along the lower reaches of the rivers, where they are bordered by swamps of very great extent, the sago grows in a quantity which, as far as native wants are concerned, is probably inexhaustible. As a diet it
[262] is secondary to the taro, but among the river-dwellers at least it provides an unfailing resource in times of scarcity. The sago leaf thatches the house, and the midrib nowadays commonly forms the walls of the house. In the dismal swamps of the coast the *Nipa* palm furnishes another material for thatching, and the mangrove one of the most adaptable of native timbers.

137 Comparatively few fruit-bearing trees are found in the
262 bush. The only exceptions of much consequence are the several varieties of bread-fruit, the *Okari* nut, and the tree called *Puga*. Mangoes are uncommon and of inferior quality, and of the numerous varieties of wild fig only one or two may be called edible. But there are numerous herbs, ferns, and tree leaves which always lend variety to Orokaiva cookery, and when scarcity prevails at the height of the South-East season may even become a stand-by. Indeed,

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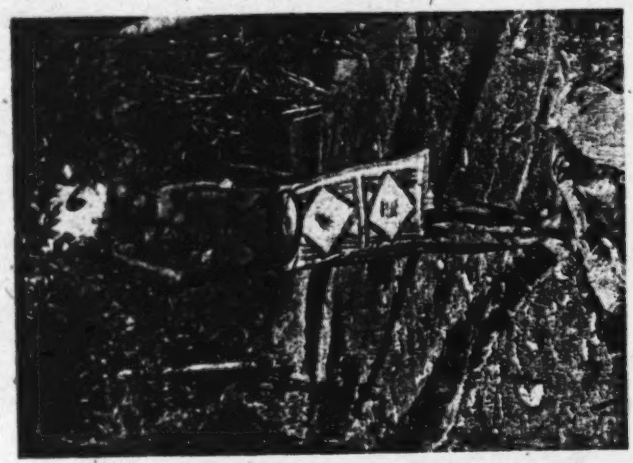

(b) Woman and child of Wasida

PLATE IV

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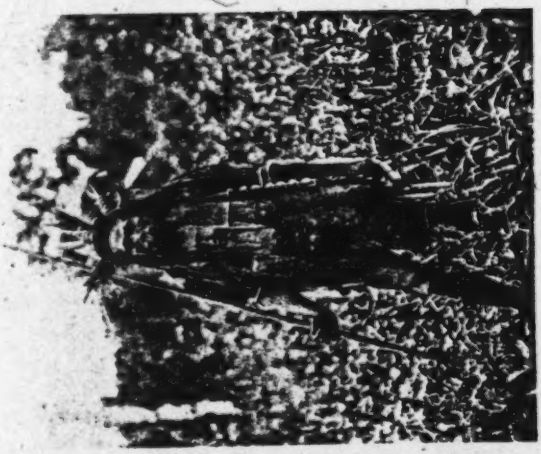

(a) A man of the River Gira

[facing p. 26]

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dark places under fallen tree trunks. The eel is a heavy-bodied creature with a blade-like tail and fierce jaws. When a number of them have been discovered the village may turn out in force. The younger men will dive and endeavour to dislodge the eels with sticks and spears, while the others, some upstream and some down, take their stand on convenient rocks and wait with poised fishing-spears to catch the eel as it makes a dart for freedom. If the efforts of the divers (who perform remarkable feats of endurance under water, and use their spears at no small risk to one another's legs) prove unavailing, they will have recourse to more insidious methods. The *poso*, a hollow log, some 6 feet long and 9 inches in diameter, open at either end, and furnished with a small window or peep-hole, 2 orches 3 in square, half-way down its length, is brought into use. Two divers will take this down and secure it under water near the hole where the eel is hiding.

The harrassed creature being now left alone and seeing a dark narrow hole—a retreat after its own heart—slips into the *poso* and rests secure until one of the young men diving again discovers its presence by means of the peep-hole. Then two men will go down, block each open end of the log with leaves and bring it to the surface, where the eel is ejected and killed.

Fishing-spears. Any spear will serve on emergency for a fishing-spear, but nowadays it is frequently furnished with a point of iron wire. The fishing-spear proper, however (*bosau* or *saita*), which I have seen among the Bush People, has two prongs of palm wood bound on to a long light shaft. In some of the coastal villages is found a long leister or spear (*sagi*) furnished with perhaps ten prongs of hard-wood bound on to a light shaft about seven feet long.

Line Fishing. Line fishing is of little practical consequence. The line itself is of pandanus or banana fibre, plain or twisted. Two kinds of hooks may be described. The first of them is hardly more than a toy. The leaf of the pandanus is edged with minute oblique thorns or prickles, and a small boy will attach to his line a little section of this leaf which acts as bait or lure and, by virtue of its little thorns, as hook also.

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285 482 pig inside, enclosed as if in a made-to-measure basket. It remains questionable whether the pig travels more comfortably thus than in the normal way with its feet tied to a pole.

285 [462] *Plaiting.* Belts are made by men with very thin strips of cane. Several effective patterns are done in yellow and black of which I have recorded only the commonest one (*vide* Plate IX). Belts and armlets or leglets are made from a species of brown creeper fibre, plaited very closely into bands of varying width.

462 283 *String and Rope.* String such as is used in making small fish-nets is made by women. They tease out pandanus fibre and roll it on the thigh. Rope, e.g. for pig-nets, is made by men from pandanus.

323 [412] *Woodwork.* Wooden bowls (*teva*) are cut out of blocks of soft wood. The work is done with a light adze and the surface is smoothed with sandpaper leaves. The finished article is a light boat-shaped vessel, with or without a handle at one end; though entirely without ornament, it sometimes possesses a graceful outline. These *teva* are often [463] made by men who appear to be experts, and they make the nearest approach to the stock-in-trade of a specialist.

The carving of hard-wood into lime spatulae has been already mentioned (p. 66). With somewhat rare exceptions such carving is inferior or careless; and in many cases scratching would be a better word.

Weapons

411 *Spears.* The principal weapon is the spear, of which several varieties are distinguished.

(1) The ordinary pig-spear (*o-ki*) is made of black palmwood (*koropa*). It is heavy and long—often about 12 feet. The section towards the point is half oval, and there are two sets of barbs.

(2) The fighting spear (*ovevo*) is much lighter and only about 9 feet in length. It is made either of *koropa* palm or of a reddish hard-wood (*kinana*) which takes a high polish. The section toward the point is approximately square; there are four sets of barbs, often well cut; and some distance below

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the point are affixed one or more bunches of coloured feathers. The feathers apparently serve only a decorative purpose.

(3) A spear round in section and without barbs is known as *bou*.

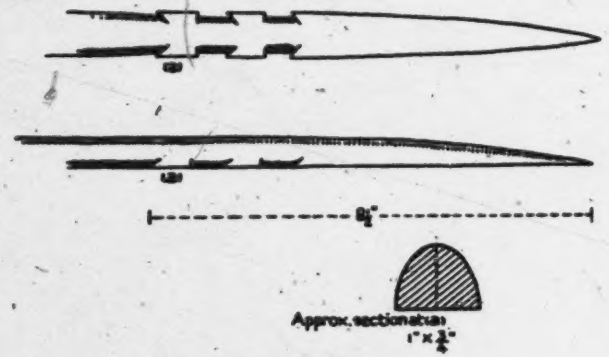

FIG. 17. *O-ki* or Pig Spear.

FIG. 18. *Ouvo* or Fighting Spear.

(4) A short thrusting spear or pike (*apaw*) has a plain point at one end and a spatulate broadening at the other. This is meant less for throwing than for work at close quarters. In a recent inter-clan brawl, for instance, while one of the surprised villagers was clambering on to his house verandah in order to reach his spears there, he was rushed by his opponent and stabbed in the leg with an *apaw*. It was no doubt this weapon—'a two-ended spear about 4 feet long'—with which a huge Orokaiva was about to kill one of Mr. Alec Elliot's police whom he had at his mercy, when a bullet from another policeman 'burst his heart'.[1]

[1] *Annual Report*, 1900–1, p. 12.

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(5) There are other varieties of spears distinguished by minor differences; but one is used for a purpose which is perhaps unique. This is the *dega* or *kame*, which has a spiral of white feathers winding about it from top to bottom. The *dega* is not so much a weapon of offence as a standard meant for display and, as I was assured, the intimidation of the foe. When Sir William MacGregor saw a flotilla of war canoes ascending the river Musa one early morning in the year 1895, he remarked in particular 'two big men, each standing erect in the hull of a fine war canoe, one at each end of the square platform. They were in complete martial panoply, covered by paint and plumes, and each, as he remained in an attitude as stiff and silent as a pillar of stone, held his right hand on a great tall war spear, which he held erect, the lower end resting on the bottom of the canoe. These two spears were nearly covered with white feathers from end to end'. These spears, used by the kindred people of the Musa, were no doubt identical with the *dega* of the Orokaiva, which in these times of peace has been relegated from the hand of the warrior to that of the Taro man.[1]

Wooden 'Swords'. The wooden sword (*asivo*) is a blade-shaped length of black palm-wood usually some 3 feet 6 inches long. The point and edges are not so sharp as to pierce or cut, and the weapon is virtually a club. Being used with two hands, it is much less unwieldy than the stone-headed club, and probably gains in effectiveness by its lightness. The *asivo* is often painted and befeathered.

Woman's Quarterstaff. The woman's quarterstaff (*poreba*) is a long light staff of knotty hard-wood. Every able-bodied woman will keep one just underneath the raised floor of her house, where it is ready for a brawl. She carries it in a characteristic manner, resting on the crown of her head and held on either side in her hands. There is a certain technique in its use, and it is said to be correct, when warding off a blow, to hold the *poreba* simply between thumb and fore-finger, with the fingers extended. Women bear their part in inter-village affrays and are not infrequently guilty of

[1] *Annual Report*, 1895-6, p. 27; and cf. *ibid.*, p. 14. The *Dega* is now frequently affected by Taro men, though I cannot say with what significance.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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(*a*) *Emi* or Disk Club. Diameter of disk, 7½ in.

(*b*) *Taiba* or Sling

PLATE XVIII [facing p. 83]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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411 inciting to violence. The other occasions on which the *poreha* may be put to use are, I am told, the quarrels of a polygamous household.

Stone Clubs. Stone clubs are of two principal kinds, the 'pineapple' (*gishi*) and the disk (*emi*). They are made from river pebbles. The former variety has a hole through the longer axis for the haft, and its striking surface is serrated by means of longitudinal and lateral grooves, which leave a number of processes or points. The latter is more or less disk-shaped, the outer edge being ground down to a fairly sharp cutting-edge. The 'star' club (*tingo*) is not common (the word *tingo* is used of a jutting broken branch), nor is the 'egg' club (*era*)—a plain knob with a hole through the longer axis. Club heads of quartz have been obtained in the Division, but are rarities and apparently antiquities.

The stone club was formerly made by striking and wearing down with another stone, the hole through the centre being made by a pestle-shaped pebble as striker, or what Sir Wm. MacGregor described as a small stone 'of the size and shape of a rifle bullet'. Nowadays the small pyramidal points [177] of the pineapple club are made by means of a white man's file. The manufacture of these weapons has almost ceased, for their use has been brought down to one of mere display. However, the Orokaiva in full dress still rejoices to carry a befeathered club on his shoulder, like a sword at the slope.

The Sling. The sling (*taiba*) is said to have been once a genuine weapon, yet the early reports contain no mention of it as being used by the hostile natives. W. E. Armit speaks of the men of the Upper Kumusi and Yodda river as 'stone-throwers and rushing natives',[1] but other stories tell of the natives sometimes attacking with no weapons save large stones which they had picked up on the track, and there is no reason to suppose that the stone-throwers mentioned by Mr. Armit threw with anything but their hands. Now, at any rate, the sling is little more than a toy, though why elderly men should sometimes carry these playthings in their bags I have not been able to discover. In the typical example the pouch is of roughly netted string

[1] *Annual Report*, 1899-1900, p. 84.

1: Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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411 (Plate XVIIIb). Of the attached strings one is in the form of a loop, which is passed round a finger; the other is released in throwing.

The Shield. The shield (*behe* or *pere*) is made of light wood, about ½ inch thick, strongly bound with narrow strips of cane to prevent splitting. The handle is a loop of stout rattan which passes through the wood. The shape of the shield—square cut above and pointed below—caused early observers to refer to it very appropriately as 'Gothic'. It sometimes bears a device—in no manner heraldic but purely decorative—made by interlacing black strands among the yellow cane binding strips; and when this is well done the effect may be artistic and even dainty (Plate XIX). [531]

The *behe* is held under-grip in the warrior's left hand, which also contrives to hold a club and even an extra spear. His right hand poises or brandishes the spear which he is about to throw, giving little jerks which cause it to vibrate like a twanged string. (At that moment it might well enough be called a 'shadowy spear'.)

Shields are used very adroitly in turning or intercepting missiles, and a broken spear-point buried in the wood is regarded as a trophy. Despite the fact that their serious use is over they are still very commonly kept in readiness—at least by the Aiga—and they always make a fracas possible. Like most other men the Orokaiva has no stomach for the plain spear, and he enjoys his inter-tribal brawl much more when he has a *behe* in his hand.

Miscellaneous Implements

412 The implements used in gardening, sago-making, fishing, &c., have already been described. It remains to mention a few used for general purposes.

The Adze or Axe. The adze or axe blade (*oto*) is a ground river pebble. This is bound with cane into a split tang, and the tang is driven into a groove in the forked branch which serves as a handle. Here it is held by a binding of plaited cane. The implement is either axe or adze according to the way the tang is turned.

The celt itself is made from a selected river pebble by

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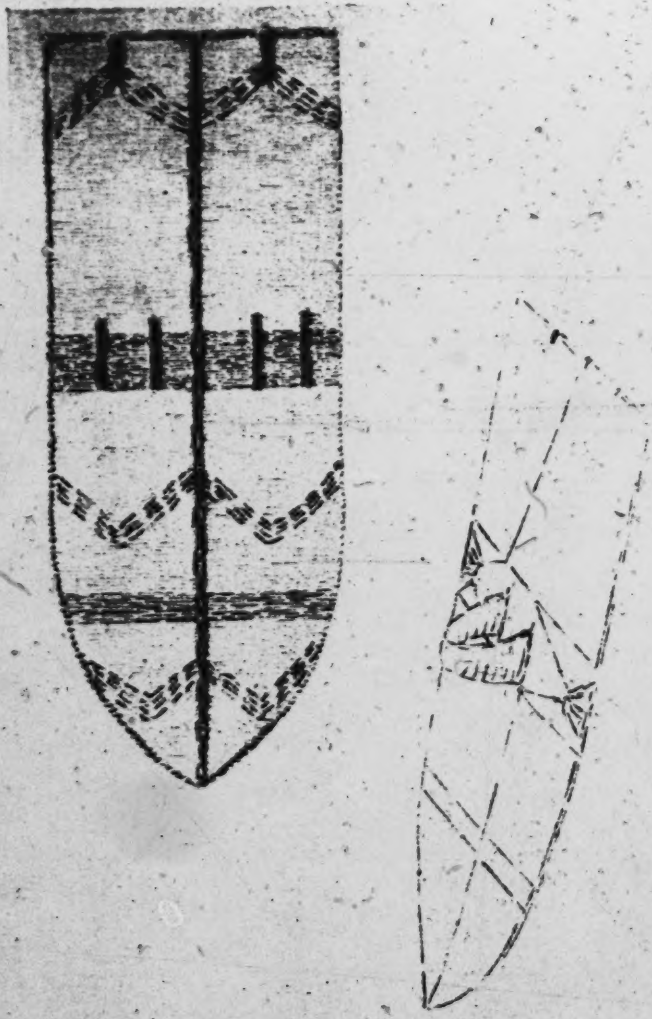

Bebe or Shield, 30 in. by 12 in.

PLATE XIX

[facing p.84]

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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named Baiho was attacked by fever; he bathed, but his fever continued; then he was seized with *jipari*. He did not understand his plight until a certain *Diroga* man explained it to him. His father Parata had been killed long ago in a raid by hostile neighbours: now the *diroga* of Parata was possessing him. Subsequently Baiho received a dream-visit from his slain father, and was presented with a certain kind of Taro named *Orori*.

Another man witnessing the dancing of a party of *Diroga* men, found himself under the influence of the shaking-fit. It was explained to him that the *diroga* of his slain brother was causing the trouble, an interpretation which a subsequent dream verified beyond question.

Another informant, possessed by the spirit of his father, likewise a true *diroga*, saw the figure of the slain man standing before him with his hands behind his back, just as the corpse of the victim is set upright with its hands bound to a pole behind it. Such instances could be multiplied. The *Diroga* man believes, or professes, with absolute consistency as far as my inquiries go, that he is possessed by the true *diroga* or spirit of a slain man.

One or two of their peculiar mannerisms may find explanation in the conception of the *diroga* itself. It used to be their habit to strike postures, looking up into the sky or into the tree-tops. This was where they hoped or pretended to see the *diroga*, who always fly overhead. A recruiter informed me that the thrusting and jabbing with spears was directed at the spirits, which may be so, though I have no verification. One characteristic gesture of the *Diroga* man is a sideways jerk of the head such as a bather makes when he wishes to shake the water out of his ear. A native has given me a somewhat grisly explanation. An *emi tataru*, i.e. one who has been done to death with the terrible *emi* or disk club, will, in his immaterial *diroga* form, be continually jerking his head to one side to clear away the blood which is clogging his ears. There is a tale, as pathetic as it is gruesome, of a lad who left his sweetheart to go with his fathers and

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brothers on a raid, telling her to wait for his home-coming, when he would marry her. In due time he came back to the girl's house, far ahead of the others, to tell her that the raiders had been victorious and to take her away to his home. As they set off he bade her go in front, but looking over her shoulder the girl saw him jerking his head and stamping his foot, and finally noticed a trickle of blood from his ear. At that she became alarmed, left her husband on the track, and ran back to the village where she found the raiders bringing in his corpse. Real *diroga* jerk their heads, so should not *Diroga* men do the same?

The dance of the *Diroga* men has already been described (p. 20). With its swift advance and retreat, its dodging and sallying, and its truculent, threatening air, the performance seems to reproduce the attack of the fierce Orokaiva warrior. No native has offered an explanation, but it seems that the warlike nature of the dance is supposedly due to the possession of the dancers by warrior spirits.

The spears have become an emblem of the *Diroga* cult. Many, if not all of them, are found to bear personal names—the names in fact of the actual *diroga* which possess their owners. They are in fact symbols of the dead warriors. It is said, indeed, that 'the spears are men'. This makes clear the practice of gripping or stroking the spear-point. The universal hand-shaking of Taro men has been referred to. With *Diroga* men it is customary to touch their spear-points as well as to shake them by the hand: this, I am told, is a salutation to the *diroga* which is symbolized by the spear. If a man neglect this observance he may fall sick, because he has offended the *diroga*.

It has been said that the profession of curing is more pronounced among the *Diroga* men than among the ordinary followers of the Taro cult. The methods are, however, the same as those previously described, with special emphasis on the use of the spear (p. 60). With

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X 794 curing, it is to be feared, goes the implication of sorcery. 755 It may not be without significance that the two or three 754 instances of implied sorcery which have come to my notice are all associated with *Diroga*.

X 794 Within the *Diroga* cult itself there is already disintegra-● [411] tion. The majority are *Ki-embo* because of their association with the *ki*, or spear; but there are also *Gishi-embo* and *Asivo-embo*, who affect respectively the *gishi*, or pineapple club, and the *asivo*, or wooden sword. Concerning these latter I have only the scantiest information; and no more regarding a distinction between the 'Bush' *Diroga* men and the 'Salt Water' or coastal *Diroga* men.

There are several other more or less important variants of the Taro cult of which I may describe three, viz. those of the *Eriri* men and the *Hobora* men, and thirdly the cult of Manau.

X 794 The *Eriri* or 'Rainbow' men are numerous in the 158 Dobodura district. Some years ago one Aragata was 787 mourning the loss of his brother, and after the Orokaiva [764] fashion was embracing his dead body as it lay on the *bahara*, or exposure platform, before burial. When Aragata descended from the *bahara* he found his legs unsteady, and was forthwith taken in a fit of *jipari*. In the course of this fit, he says, he became aware in some manner that his dead brother's spirit was the cause of it. Further thrills were in store for Aragata, however. That night he dreamt, and in his dream went in search of his brother. The search was fruitless. Aragata found no trace of his kinsman, but came instead to 'the place of the rainbow', where he met one Songe, a man of long ago. Songe (of whom my informant could give no clear account) questioned him and condoled with him, and finally said, 'I give you Taro' (i.e. I make you a Taro man); 'whenever you see a rainbow you will be seized X 794 by *jipari*'. Aragata professed that the sight of a rainbow 158 always had the promised effect upon him, and further, that the rainbow and nothing else could produce that effect. Soon, however, he had an enthusiastic following,

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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DIROGA MEN DANCING

See page 20

[facing P.120]